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November 2, 1993

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z
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SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5849
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INFO USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AIT TAIPEI 2719
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

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STATE FOR EAP/CM, EAP/P, PH
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NSC FOR WIEDEMANN

SEOUL AND TOKYO PASS TO DOD A/S FREEMAN

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E.O. 12356: N/A

<SUBJ>
SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF BEIJING PRESS CONFERENCE OF
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CHAS FREEMAN ON NOVEMBER
2, 1993

<TEXT>
1. CHAS FREEMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR

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REGIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, GAVE AN ON-THE-RECORD PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE PROGRAM ROOM OF USIS BEIJING AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT TO BEIJING ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1993.

2. AMERICAN MEDIA PRESENT INCLUDED ABC, AP, BALTIMORE SUN, CNN, CBS, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK TIMES, UPI, VOA, WASHINGTON POST, AND WTN. CHINESE PRESS INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES FROM XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, PEOPLE'S DAILY, CHINA DAILY, AND GUANGMING DAILY. AMONG THE HONG KONG PRESS WERE THE SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, ATV HONG KONG, HONG KONG COMMERCIAL RADIO, HONG KONG TVB NEWS, HONG KONG CABLE TV, AND RTHK. TAIWAN'S CHINA NEWS AGENCY ALSO SENT A REPRESENTATIVE.

3. THIRD-COUNTRY PRESS INCLUDED REUTERS, BBC, AGENCIE FRANCE-PRESSE, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP., FINANCIAL TIMES, DPA, PTI, ANSA, KYODO, SANKEI SHIMBUN, YOMIURI SHIMBUN, NIKK, JIJI PRESS, MAINICHI SHIMBUN, ASAMI SHIMBUN, TOKYO SHIMBUN, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, NRC HANDELSBLAD, TASS, AND LUSA (PORTUGUESE NEWS AGENCY).

(BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

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AMBASSADOR FREEMAN: THANK YOU, I AM SORRY TO BE LATE.
I HAVE BEEN BUSY CLEARING REPORTING CABLES FROM THE
VERY BUSY SCHEDULE I'VE KEPT HERE.

MY COLLEAGUES IN THE DELEGATION, SOME OF WHOM ARE HERE
AND SOME OF WHOM ARE NOT, AND I HAD A SERIES OF VERY
PRODUCTIVE MEETINGS WITH THE VICE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL
STAFF, LT. GENERAL XU HUIZI. I ALSO HAD A MEETING WITH
VICE FOREIGN MINISTER LIU HUAQIU BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE
UNITED STATES THIS MORNING, AND I HAD A MEETING WITH
LT. GENERAL HUAI GOOMO, WHO IS CHARGE OF DEFENSE
CONVERSION, YESTERDAY. THIS MORNING, AS YOU KNOW, I
MET WITH DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL CHI HAOTIAN AND WITH
POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER AND VICE CHAIRMAN
OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION GENERAL LIU HUAQING.
THESE MEETINGS WERE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON
COMMON SECURITY CONCERN AND IN PARTICULAR ON EACH
OTHER'S IDEAS ON HOW TO IMPROVE U.S.-CHINA MILITARY
RELATIONS, WITH A SPECIFIC FOCUS ON THE SUBJECTS OF
PEACEKEEPING AND THE CONCEPT OF COOPERATION IN DEFENSE
CONVERSION, WHICH IS AN AREA WHERE CHINA HAS PLAYED A
PIONEERING ROLE AND WHERE WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM
THE CHINESE.

I WAS ALSO ABLE, I SHOULD SAY, TO SPEAK FRANKLY AND

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DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY ABOUT SOME OF
THE PROBLEMS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.
FINALLY, WE DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF MODEST INITIATIVES
FOR MILITARY DIALOGUE AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN US. I
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MIGHT ADD THAT THESE EXCHANGES AND THIS DIALOGUE ARE
ALL DESIGNED TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST
SO THAT THE TWO MILITARIES CAN CONTRIBUTE BOTH TO
IMPROVING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND TO PROMOTING
PEACE AND STABILITY IN A NUMBER OF TROUBLE SPOTS IN THE
WORLD.

SO THIS IS BASICALLY A SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES IN
WHICH I'VE BEEN ENGAGED. MY TIME IS SHORT, BUT I'D BE
HAPPY TO TAKE QUESTIONS.

Q: I'M PAT TYLER OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. GOOD TO SEE
YOU.

FREEMAN: NICE TO SEE YOU.

Q: THERE HAS BEEN SOME CONCERN OR EXPRESSION OF
CONCERN AND SOME REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON THAT THERE IS
CONCERN IN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF
THE PLA IS DEMONIZING THE UNITED STATES, (AND) REGARDS
THE UNITED STATES MILITARY AS ITS ENEMY. TO WHAT
EXTENT DID YOU ADDRESS THE TWO, AND WHAT IS YOUR
ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES IN THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP
NOW?

FREEMAN: I FOUND THE PLA MILITARY LEADERSHIP VERY OPEN
TO THE IDEA OF RESUMING EXCHANGES AND ENGAGING IN A
RANGE OF ACTIVITIES IN THE AREAS I HAVE MENTIONED--

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BASICALLY, PEACEKEEPING AND DEFENSE CONVERSION. AT THE
SAME TIME, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT FOUR AND A
HALF YEARS OF NOT A COMPLETE HALT IN THE DIALOGUE BUT
CERTAINLY A CONSTRICTION OF IT HAVE TAKEN THEIR TOLL IN
TERMS OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, NOT ONLY ON THE CHINESE
SIDE BUT ON OUR OWN SIDE. AND I THINK THAT IT IS JUST
A MATTER OF LOGIC THAT IF YOU DON'T HAVE CONTACT AND
DIALOGUE, IT'S EASY TO BE UNAWARE OF THE OTHER SIDE'S
VIEWPOINT AND TO MISINTERPRET THAT VIEWPOINT ON
OCCASION. IN OTHER WORDS, IGNORANCE CAN BREED
SUSPICION AND DISTRUST, BUT I CERTAINLY DIDN'T SENSE
ANYTHING BUT A WARM RECEPTION FROM THOSE I SPOKE WITH.

Q: COULD YOU ELABORATE MORE ON THE INITIATIVES YOU

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DEALT WITH REGARDING MILITARY EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE, AND WHAT SORT OF VISITS WE ARE GOING TO SEE IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

FREEMAN: WELL, THE DETAILS ARE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. I SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT IT WASN'T MY PURPOSE IN COMING HERE IN WHAT WAS ESSENTIALLY A DAY AND A HALF OF MEETINGS TO TRY TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF A PROGRAM OF EXCHANGES OR OTHER ACTIVITIES. WE DID DISCUSS SOME SUGGESTIONS, BUT THEY WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN NORMAL CHANNELS THROUGH THE DEFENSE ATTACHE HERE AND THE CHINESE DEFENSE ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON, SO I AM REALLY NOT IN A POSITION TO GET INTO THE SPECIFICS, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS A FAIRLY MODEST PROGRAM OF RECIPROCAL VISITS, DISCUSSIONS, FOCUSED ON PROFESSIONALIZATION, ON PEACEKEEPING.

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AND IN THE LATTER AREA, I WOULD STRESS IN PARTICULAR THE VERY FINE PERFORMANCE WHICH CHINA TURNED IN IN CAMBODIA, WHICH REMINDED US OF SOMETHING IMPORTANT, NAMELY, AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH A VERY LARGE STANDING ARMY, CHINA IS VERY LIKELY TO PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS ALONGSIDE THE UNITED STATES. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WHEN THE PLA AND THE U.S. ARMED FORCES ARE TOGETHER, THAT THEY KNOW HOW TO COMMUNICATE, HOW TO COOPERATE. AND SO WE'RE GOING TO LOOK TOGETHER AT SOME WAYS OF DOING SOME PREPARATORY WORK FOR THIS KIND OF COOPERATION UNDER UN AUSPICES IN THE FUTURE.

Q: ANY TIANANMEN SANCTIONS BEING LIFTED NOW? ARE THERE ANY SANCTIONS OR SALES BEING LIFTED NOW? ARE WE JUST NOW TALKING ABOUT A RESUMPTION OF EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE?

FREEMAN: NO, THERE'S NO CHANGE IN THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO SANCTIONS AT PRESENT. BUT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS EXACTLY WHAT I SAID. I MIGHT ADD THAT OBVIOUSLY THE WORLD HAS CHANGED A GREAT DEAL SINCE 1989. THE BERLIN WALL HAS FALLEN, THE SOVIET UNION IS NO MORE. WE HAVE A VERY CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP NOW WITH THE RUSSIAN ARMED FORCES.

CHINA AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN I, LIVING HERE, HAS CHANGED A GREAT DEAL SINCE 1989 TOO. IN FACT, COMING BACK HERE AFTER AN ABSENCE OF NINE YEARS ONE IS

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ABSOLUTELY STARTLED BY THE CHANGES WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE. SO IT ISN'T APPROPRIATE TO THINK IN TERMS OF GOING BACK TO THE SORT OF RELATIONSHIP WE HAD FROM THE EARLY 1980'S THROUGH 1989. AND WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT THAT.

Q: I THINK YOU SAID YOU SPOKE FRANKLY WITH THEM ABOUT THE PROBLEMS IN THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. SPECIFICALLY, COULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR DISCUSSIONS ON PROLIFERATION, AND WAS THERE ANY CHANGE IN THE CHINESE POSITION THAT THEY DIDN'T SELL THE M-11 TO PAKISTAN?

FREEMAN: WELL, WE DID DISCUSS A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING THE M-11, AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT THOSE DISCUSSIONS WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR US TO PUT THAT ISSUE BEHIND US, BUT I CANNOT REPORT THAT THAT WAS ACHIEVED DURING MY VISIT. IT WILL REQUIRE MORE WORK IN THE FUTURE BY BOTH SIDES.

Q: MAY I HAVE A FOLLOW-UP ON THAT? WHAT WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR THEM TO PUT THAT ISSUE BEHIND THEM? WAS THERE SOME SPECIFIC COMMITMENT THAT THE CHINES

E WILL ADHERE MORE TO THE MTCR SO THAT THE U.S. COULD LIFT THE SANCTIONS THAT ARE NOW IN PLACE?

FREEMAN: THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH THIS ISSUE COULD BE RESOLVED, AND I AM NOT GOING TO GET INTO SPECIFICS. BUT I'D SIMPLY SAY THAT WE ARE BOTH AWARE

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THAT IT IS A SERIOUS ISSUE. IT'S VERY CLEAR THAT THE CHINESE THEMSELVES TAKE THE ISSUE OF PROLIFERATION SERIOUSLY. I THINK THAT THEY MAKE A VERY CONVINCING CASE THAT, AS THEY FREQUENTLY SAY, THEY NEED A STABLE AND PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT, ESPECIALLY ON THEIR BORDERS, IN ORDER TO PURSUE THEIR OWN NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. SO, I THINK IN BROAD TERMS THERE IS UNDERSTANDING. THERE ARE SPECIFIC ISSUES, OF WHICH THE M-11 IS ONE, OF COURSE, AND ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT WE... HOPE TO WORK WITH THE CHINESE, WE HOPE THEY WILL WORK WITH US, TO FIND A WAY OF RESOLVING THE QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE ARISEN.

Q: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT BEARING DOES CHINA'S NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY HAVE WHEN IT COMES TO CONSIDERING MFN STATUS?

FREEMAN: WELL, I THINK CHINESE BEHAVIOR ON A RANGE OF

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ISSUES IS WEIGHED AS WE CONSIDER DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING MFN.
I WILL NOTE THAT CHINA OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS HAS ADHERED FIRST TO THE NPT AND THEN TO THE CONVENTIONS AGAINST CHEMICAL WARFARE. IT IS A SIGNATORY OF THE CONVENTION AGAINST BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. VERY CLEARLY, CHINESE THINKING ON THESE ISSUES HAS MOVED A LONG WAY FROM WHERE IT WAS SOME YEARS AGO AND IT IS MUCH CLOSER TO OUR OWN THINKING, AND THAT IS A MATTER OF SOME SATISFACTION TO US.
I THINK THAT IT LAYS A BASIS FOR COOPERATION IN THIS

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PAGE 09 BEIJIN 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z AREA. AND THAT COOPERATION CAN ONLY HAVE A BENEFICIAL AFFECT ON THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP.

Q: DID THE CHINESE RAISE AT ALL THE QUESTION OF RENEWING ARMS PURCHASES FROM THE UNITED STATES?
FREEMAN: NO.

Q: DID YOU DISCUSS WITH CHINESE COUNTERPARTS THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SITUATION UPON THE REGION?

FREEMAN: THE SUBJECT DID COME UP, BUT NOT AS A MAJOR TOPIC OF THE DISCUSSION. I THINK THAT BOTH OF US ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTABILITY IN RUSSIA AND ADJACENT AREAS WHICH WOULD AFFECT THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF CHINA AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE DISCUSSION SIMPLY WASN'T DETAILED, NOR WAS THAT A FOCUS OF OUR TALKS. IF IT CAME UP, (IT WAS) ESSENTIALLY IN PASSING.

Q: A LOT OF CHINA'S NEIGHBORS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE INCREASES IN THE CHINESE MILITARY BUDGET. DOES THE UNITED STATES SHARE THESE CONCERNs, AND IF SO, DID YOU CONVEY THOSE TO THE CHINESE WHILE YOU WERE HERE?

FREEMAN: I THINK ONE THING THAT WE DID DISCUSS WHICH WAS DIRECTLY ON THIS POINT, ALTHOUGH NOT EXACTLY IN THE TERMS THAT YOU PUT IT, IS THAT BOTH OF US ARE IN THE

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PAGE 10 BEIJIN 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z BUSINESS AT PRESENT OF RESTRUCTURING AND MODERNIZING OUR DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS AND OUR MILITARIES. IN OUR CASE, IT HAPPENS THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE ANYMORE THAT OUR GLOBAL ROLE INVOLVES A POSSIBILITY OF A WORLD WAR, AND THEREFORE WE ARE DRAMATICALLY DOWN-SIZING BOTH OUR

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DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE SIZE OF ARMED FORCES. AND I
HAD HOPED TO EXPLAIN TO THE CHINESE MORE IN DETAIL WHAT
WE WERE DOING. FRANKLY TIME DID NOT PERMIT, BUT I WAS
ABLE TO GIVE THEM SOME BRIEFING MATERIAL ON THIS.
I THINK FOR OUR PART WE WOULD LIKE TO UNDERSTAND MORE
ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF CHINESE MILITARY PLANNING--WHAT
KIND OF CORE STRUCTURE THE CHINESE PLAN. NOT BECAUSE
WE REGARD CHINA AS A THREAT, BUT BECAUSE WE REGARD
CHINA AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN WORLD POLITICS AND THE
SECURITY OF THIS REGION, AS A POTENTIAL PARTNER IN MANY
WAYS, AND WE WOULD SIMPLY LIKE TO UNDERSTAND MORE ABOUT
BOTH THE METHODOLOGY BY WHICH THE CHINESE MAKE PLANNING
DECISIONS IN THIS AREA AND THE DIRECTION OF THEIR
DEFENSE EVOLUTION. AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE
EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE TO WHICH I REFERRED WILL ENABLE
US TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

Q: DID THE OFFICIALS YOU MET THESE FEW DAYS EXPRESS
THEIR ANGER ON THE SALES OF WEAPONS TO TAIWAN FROM THE
U.S.?

FR
EDMAN: IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THE CHINESE
DID MAKE CLEAR THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE LEVEL OF U.S.
ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN IN THE RECENT PAST. SO THAT ISSUE,
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WAS RAISED BY THEM, BUT I SHOULD SAY THAT THAT TOO IS
NOT A FOCUS OF THE DISCUSSIONS. I WAS NOT HERE TO
ADDRESS THAT ISSUE, AND MY CHINESE HOSTS GRACIOUSLY
REGISTERED THEIR CONCERN BUT DID NOT SEEK TO ENGAGE IN
AN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE.
(END OF TRANSCRIPT)

DAKS

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